

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04086 01 OF 02 311244Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 ACDA-05

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 OIC-02 SAM-01 ERDA-05 OMB-01

BIB-01 EB-07 /097 W

----- 003270

O R 311115Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3402

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 299

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES

USLO SACLANT NORVA

CINCLANT

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 4086

MADRID FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR XG PARM EGEN EEWT SGEN

SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-MAY 26-30

1. SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS MADE TWO KEY BASKET III CONCESSIONS

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04086 01 OF 02 311244Z

--ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN TEXTS ON FACILITATION OF TRAVEL

AND EXPULSION OF JOURNALISTS--ON THE EVE OF THE NATO SUMMIT, IN AN EVIDENT ATTEMPT TO REVERSE A HIGHLY NEGATIVE SITUATION AND CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT A JULY STAGE III IS STILL POSSIBLE. HOWEVER, WHEN THE NATO GROUP AGREED, ON THE BASIS OF THESE SOVIETS CONCESSIONS, TO ENTER GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS TO CONCLUDE HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION SUBJECTS THEY FOUND THE SOVIETS JUST AS INFLEXIBLE AS THEY HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN ON THE REMAINING POINTS AT ISSUE. SOVIETS ALSO ANNOUNCED THEIR NEW PROPOSALS FOR PARAMETERS FOR CBM ON MILITARY MANEUVERS: 30,000 TROOP THRESHOLD, 18 DAYS NOTIFICATION AND 150 KM ZONE IN EUROPEAN USSR, WHICH WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELS STILL CONSIDER INSUFFICIENT. PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE MADE SOME PROGRESS TOWARD COMPLETION OF PREAMBLE TO PRINCIPLES DECLARATION WHEN TENTATIVE AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON A REFERENCE TO THE UN CHARTER. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--SUBCOMMITTEE DRAFTING PRINCIPLES DECLARATION ENDED TWO WEEK IMPASSE ON RELATIONSHIP OF UN CHARTER TO PRINCIPLES BY FORGING COMPROMISE PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH STATEING THAT PRINCIPLES ARE IN CONFORMITY WITH CHARTER AND ARE TO BE APPLIED IN CONFORMITY WITH PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF CHARTER. AGREEMENT ON THIS LANGUAGE, WHILE REMAINING TENTATIVE PENDING REVIEW OF OTHER CHARTER-RELATED ISSUES INCLUDING BRACKETED REFERENCES IN SEVERAL PRINCIPLES AND QUADRI-PARTITE RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES (QRR) SAVING CLAUSE, OPENS WAY TO FURTHER DRAFTING ON MAIN ELEMENTS OF PREAMBLE AND VIRTUALLY ENSURES THAT KEY TRANSITIONAL PARAGRAPH BETWEEN PREAMBLE AND PRINCIPLES WILL REMAIN IN ACCEPTABLE FORM. FRENCH GAVE WESTERN POWERS NEW QRR FORMULA WORKED OUT BY FONMIN SAUVAGNARGUES WITH YUGOSLAV COLLEAGUE, BUT INITIAL REACTION OF BONN GROUP DELS WAS SUFFICIENTLY NEGATIVE TO INDICATE IF OFFERS LITTLE CHANCE FOR RESOLUTION OF ISSUE. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION AGAIN FOUND ITSELF UNABLE TO WORK EFFECTIVELY ON EITHER ROMANIAN NON-USE OF FORCE OR SWISS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES PROPOSALS.

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 04086 01 OF 02 311244Z

3. MILITARY SECURITY--SOVIETS WERE STILL PUSHING HARD TO ADVANCE CBM WORK AND IN PARTICULAR TO WRAP UP THE MANEUVERS MEASURE. AS EXPECTED FROM PRIOR CONSULTATION, SOVIET REP INTRODUCED NEW FIGURES FOR NUMERICAL PARAMETERS AT MAY 30 SUBCOMMITTEE MEETING, CONFIRMING THAT SOVIETS ARE NOW PREPARED TO ANNOUNCE MANEUVERS IN 150 KM ZONE OF THEIR OWN EUROPEAN TERRITORY, MEASURED FROM BORDERS WITH OTHER EUROPEAN PARTICIPANTS;

TO SET THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION AT 30,000 TROOPS; AND PROVIDE NOTIFICATION 18 DAYS IN ADVANCE. U.S. AND OTHER ALLIED REPS WELCOMED THIS IMPORTANT SOVIET STEP, BUT ALSO EXPRESSED THEIR ASSUMPTION THAT THIS WAS NOT THE LAST WORD FROM SOVIETS ON NUMERICAL PARAMETERS. IN MAY 30 CAUCUS, ALLIES AGREED TO WITHHOLD ANY FORMAL COMMENT ON SOVIET MOVE UNTIL JUNE 2, BUT SUGGESTION FOR A TACTICAL RESPONSE BY ALLIES AT THAT TIME CONCERNING MOVE TO 450 KMS., 18,000 TROOPS AND 5 WEEKS MET NO OPPOSITION. AFTER THE JUNE 2 SESSION, WHICH WILL PROBABLY CONCLUDE "SECOND ROUND" ON MANEUVERS MEASURE, SUBCOMMITTEE IS EXPECTED TO TURN BRIEFLY TO OTHER SUBJECTS, IN ORDER TO PERMIT TIME FOR INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON A MORE CONCLUSIVE "THIRD ROUND," IN WHICH SOVIETS AND SOME OTHERS HOPE TO SETTLE TEXTS FOR "VOLUNTARY BASIS" AND SOME LESS CENTRAL ASPECTS OF MANEUVERS MEASURE. ONE ASPECT WHICH WILL REQUIRE PARALLEL ATTENTION IS APPLICATION OF MANEUVERS MEASURE TO BALTIC AND BLACK SEACOASTS, AS WELL AS IN ZONE ADJOINING BORDERS WITH OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS--A POINT ON WHICH SWEDES AND TURKS FEEL STRONGLY, AND HAVE WIDESPREAD SUPPORT. SWEDES INTRODUCED A NEW PROPOSED TEXT ON THIS SUBJECT ON MAY 30, BUT SOVIETS GAVE GUARDED REACTION AND THEIR POSITION IS NOT YET CLEAR. IN THE LAST DAY OR TWO, THERE HAVE BEEN RUMORS THAT THE SOVIETS/AND OR NEUTRALS ARE CONTEMPLATING A "PACKAGE DEAL" FOR ALL CBMs--PERHAPS SIMILAR TO THE "GLOBAL INITIATIVE" RECENTLY PUT FORTH BY THE WEST IN BASKET III. DEPENDING ON THE CONTENT OF SUCH AN INITIATIVE IN THE MILITARY SECURITY AREA, IT COULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR RESOLUTION OF MAJOR REMAINING ISSUES.

4. ECO BMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSSING TEXT CONCERNING DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 GENEVA 04086 01 OF 02 311244Z

CONCENTRATING ON FIRST SECTION WHICH RELATES TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN EUROPE" ISSUE. GROUP WAS UNABLE TO MAKE PROGRESS BECAUSE OF INABILITY TO AGREE WHETHER THERE SHOULD BE A COMMA IN RUSSIAN TEXT WHERE NONE APPEARED IN THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES RESUMED DISCUSSION OF TEXT ON SAFEGUARDS AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS INTERVAL. NEW EC TEXT ACCEPTABLE TO THE US WAS PRESENTED, BUT ROMANIA, USSR AND OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES PROPOSED SEVERAL IMPORTANT CHANGES AND IT IS CLEAR THAT ISSUE WILL NOT BE EASY TO RESOLVE. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED DEBATE IN INFORMAL SESSION ON SOVIET PROPOSED REVISIONS TO AGREED TEXTS. WESTERN DELEGATES WERE INCREASINGLY IMPATIENT WITH SOVIET INSISTENCE ON MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE CHANGES. OTHER AREAS SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF MIGATORY LABOR.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--IN AN APPARENT EFFORT TO REVERSE THE NEGATIVE IMPRESSION MADE LAST WEEK BY THEIR RESPONSE TO THE WESTERN GLOBAL INITIATIVE ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION, THE SOVIETS OFFERED SEVERAL NEW CONCESSIONS IN THESE SUBJECT AREAS. THESE INCLUDED ACCEPTANCE OF TWO MAJOR WESTERN TEXTS--ON TRAVEL FOR PERSONAL OR PROFESSIONAL REASONS AND ON NO EXCLUSION OF JOURNALISTS FOR LEGITIMATE PURSUIT OF PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITY. SEVERAL OTHER LESSER SOVIET CONCESSIONS AND INDICATIONS OF FLEXIBILITY LED WESTERN DELEGATIONS TO AGREE TO OPEN GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ON ALL REMAINING HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION ISSUES, BUT OPENING SESSIONS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS REVEALED THAT SOVIETS WILL BE VERY TOUGH ON

CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04086 02 OF 02 311224Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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TRSE-00 SAJ-01 CU-02 OIC-02 SAM-01 ERDA-05 OMB-01

BIB-01 EB-07 /097 W

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O R 311115Z MAY 75

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3403

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 300

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USNMR/SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO/SACLANT/NORVA

CINCLANT  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG  
AMEMBASSY RABAT  
AMEMBASSY TUNIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 4086

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THE APPROXIMATELY THIRTY ISSUES YET TO BE RESOLVED, AND SERVED AS A REMINDER THAT MUCH DIFFICULT WORK WILL BE REQUIRED TO CONCLUDE THESE SUBJECTS. ONLY LIMITED PROGRESS WAS MADE IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, AS SOVIETS STUBBORNLY RESISTED WESTERN EFFORTS TO ALIGN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE VERSION OF COMPROMISE TEXT ON CONTACTS  
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PAGE 02 GENEVA 04086 02 OF 02 311224Z

AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS WITH FRENCH ORIGINAL. AT WEEK'S END, HOWEVER, THERE WERE INDICATIONS OF SOME SOVIET FLEXIBILITY ON THIS PROBLEM, AS WELL AS ON CONTROVERSIAL DUTCH PROPOSAL CONCERNING CONTACTS BETWEEN AUTHORS AND PUBLISHING HOUSES. EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE REMAINED BOGGED DOWN ON YUGOSLAV PROPOSAL REGARDING NATIONAL MINORITIES. MEANWHILE, BEHIND SCENES, NEW OBSTACLE AROSE WHEN ROMANIANS REJECTED INFORMAL SOVIET SUGGESTION TO BREAK IMPASSE ON TEACHING METHODS BY DROPPING BOTH EC-NINE PROPOSAL FOR CONTACTS AMONG EDUCATORS AND USSR TEXT CONCERNING CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS. ROMANIANS INSISTED THAT SOME FORMULATION ON BOTH OF THESE SUBJECTS SHOULD BE RETAINED, AND CALLED FOR NEW EFFORTS TO DRAFT COMPROMISE TEXTS.

6. MEDITERRANEAN -- GREAT MAJORITY OF DELEGATIONS, INCLUDING THE USSR, REJECTED NEW OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS SUBMITTED LAST WEEK BY MALTA WHICH SUGGEST EURO-ARAB TIES AND GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL OF GREAT POWER FORCES FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN. MOST DELS SAW THESE CONCEPTS AS BEING BEYOND COMPETENCE OF CONFERENCE AND APPEALED TO MALTESE TO WITHDRAW THEM. MALTESE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY INTEND TO REPLY TO THESE "COMMENTS" NEXT WEEK, ADDING THAT MALTESE PRIME MINISTER IS DETERMINED TO PERSIST IN THIS MATTER AND WARNING OF POSSIBLE ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES IN OTHER CSCE SUBJECT AREAS.

7. FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III -- NO FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS ON FINAL DOCUMENTS ISSUE. FINNS TABLED THEIR DRAFT WORKING GROUP REPORT ON ORGANIZATION OF STATE III, WHICH DREW SOME COMMENTARY. MOST DELS FOUND IT A SUITABLE BASIS FOR FURTHER WORK, AND PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS APPEARED FOR THE MOMENT TO BE DURATION OF STATE III AND METHOD FOR ESTABLISHING SPEAKERS LIST.

8. FOLLOW-UP -- NEUTRAL "COMPROMISE" PROPOSAL FLOATED INFORMALLY DURING LAST TWO WEEKS HAS ATTRACTED NO SIGNIFICANT NEW SUPPORT, PAR-

TICULARLY AMONG EC-NINE, AND WESTERN DELS HAVE DISCOURAGED NEUTRALS FROM PRESENTING IT FORMALLY. EC-NINE AND NATO CAUCUS ARE NOW SHIFTING THEIR FOCUS TOWARD POSSIBLE MODIFICATION OF DANISH PROPOSAL TO MAKE IT A MORE ACCEPTABLE BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION.

9. COMMENT: THE NEW SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON TRAVEL AND EXPULSION OF JOURNALISTS WERE CONVINCING EVIDENCE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE PREPARED TO GIVE A GOOD DEAL IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THE JULY STAGE III  
CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 04086 02 OF 02 311224Z

WHICH BREZHNEV WANTS. NEVERTHELESS, IT WAS ALSO CLEAR FROM THE TIMING OF THESE MOVES THAT THEY WERE DESIGNED PRIMARILY TO INFLUENCE THE THINKING OF WESTERN POLITICAL LEADERS ON THE EVE OF THE NATO SUMMIT. THE SOVIETS EVIDENTLY CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT IF THE WESTERN POLITICAL LEADERSHIP CAN BE BROUGHT TO AGREE ON A DATE FOR STAGE III NO FURTHER SOVIET CONCESSIONS WILL BE REQUIRED, AND WESTERN NEGOTIATORS WILL BE FORCED TO ACCEPT SOVIET POSITIONS IN ORDER TO MEET THE TIME FRAME SET BY THEIR SUPERIORS. THIS STRATEGY CAME OUT CLEARLY WHEN THE SOVIETS, HAVING GIVEN THEIR CONCESSIONS AND ENGAGED THE WEST IN GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS ON HUMAN CONTACTS AND INFORMATION, RETURNED IMMEDIATELY TO THEIR STONEWALL TECHNIQUE ON THE REMAINING POINTS AT ISSUE -- DESPITE EVIDENCE OF WESTERN FLEXIBILITY.

10. THIS SOVIET PERFORMANCE WAS INTERPRETED BY MOST WESTERN 3-LEGATIONS AS INDICATING THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOW CLOSELY EXAMINE THE RESULTS OF THE BRUSSELS MEETING -- THE COMMUNIQUE AND ANY STATEMENTS BY WESTERN LEADERS -- TO EVALUATE THE CURRENT THINKING OF THE POLITICAL LEVEL IN THE WEST WITH REGARD TO TIMING OF STAGE III, BEFORE DECIDING WHETHER FURTHER CONCESSIONS ARE REALLY NECESSARY TO PUT STAGE III TOGETHER IN JULY. GIVEN THE SHORT TIME AVAILABLE TO COMPLETE THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS IF THE JULY DATE IS TO BE MET, THE SOVIETS WILL HAVE TO TAKE THIS DECISION VERY QUICKLY, AND WESTERN DELS FELT STRONGLY THAT THE SOVIETS SHOULD BE GIVEN A CLEAR MESSAGE THAT THEY WILL HAVE TO MAKE FURTHER CONCESSIONS, ESPECIALLY ON HUMAN CONTACTS, INFORMATION AND CBM'S, IF THEY ARE TO HAVE THE JULY STAGE III THEY WANT.

END SUMMARY.DALE

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 JAN 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
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**Draft Date:** 31 MAY 1975  
**Decaption Date:** 01 JAN 1960  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
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**Review Authority:** GolinoFR  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 21 APR 2003  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <21 APR 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <22 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>  
**Review Markings:**

Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
05 JUL 2006

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-MAY 26-30  
**TAGS:** PFOR, PARM, EGEN, EEWT, SGEN, XG, UR, CSCE  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006